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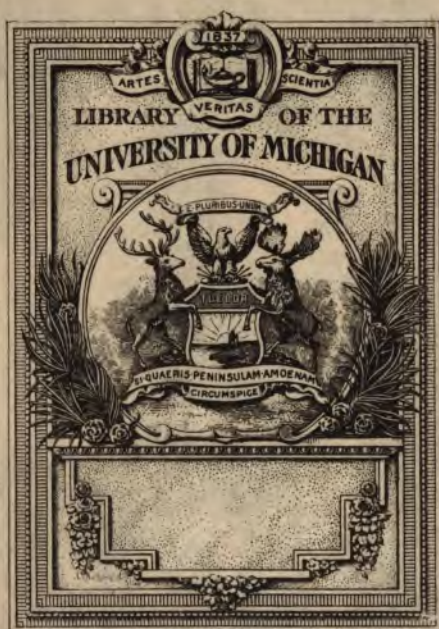
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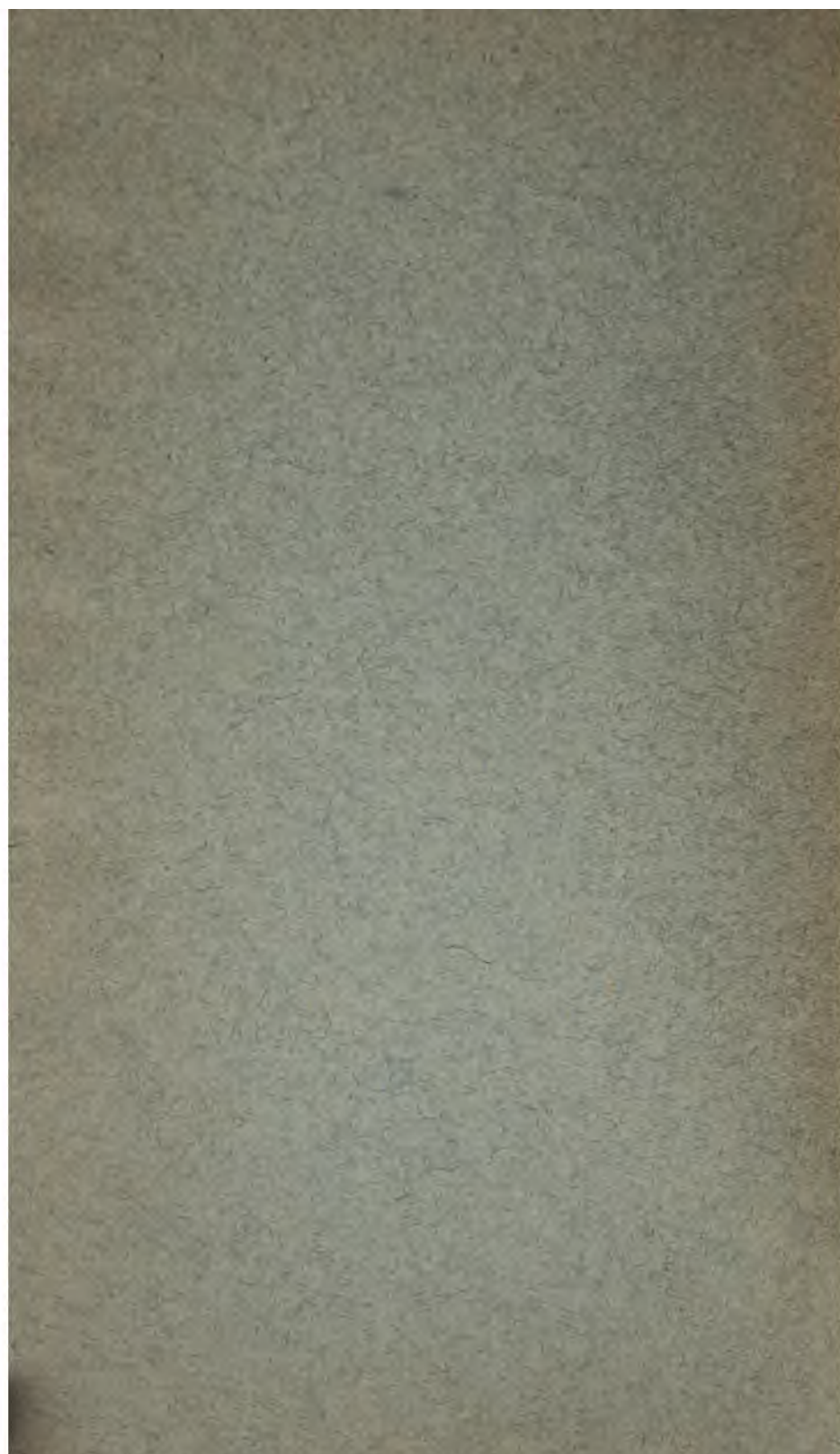
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The great struggle
in England for
honest government.



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THE
GREAT STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND
FOR
HONEST GOVERNMENT.

CONSIDERED IN TWO LECTURES WITH REFERENCE TO
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY
Edwin Forbes
E. F. WATERS.

BOSTON:
HOUGHTON, OSGOOD AND COMPANY.
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INTRODUCTION.

THE two lectures, or papers, herewith presented, were originally written as a contribution to a more private discussion of the topics therein set forth. The first, on English Civil Service Reform, was read before a club of neighbors, and afterwards, at the suggestion of other friends, was given as a Lecture at Union Hall in Boylston Street, Boston. The second, on Reform in Parliamentary Representation, was delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association of Newton Centre. The report, in the "Daily Advertiser," of the prefatory remarks to the first lecture is retained; but much that was said in the delivery of both, by way of explanation and comment, is omitted. There is also a slight change on page 12, but with this exception the lectures remain as originally written and published at the time of presentation. At still further suggestion from friends, and even from strangers, I have been induced to reprint them in this form, with the hope that the experience and success of Reformers in the Old World may be of profit and encouragement to laborers in the same field in the New.

E. F. W.

NEWTON CENTRE, April 15, 1878.

Ms. A. 7-22-96

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THE GREAT STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND FOR HONEST GOVERNMENT.

LECTURE I.

THE REMARKABLE REFORM IN ENGLISH CIVIL SERVICE.

[From the "*Boston Daily Advertiser*" of April 8, 1878.]

MR. E. F. WATERS gave a public lecture at the Union Hall, Boylston Street, Saturday evening, on the reforms effected in the various departments of English civil service. There was a good audience present, who listened with close attention to the interesting, though necessarily rapid, review of this instructive phase of civil and political history. The lecturer said, in beginning, that he had been asked to say a few words by way of preface respecting civil service reform in this country. The popular idea of civil service was, holding a government office with a fat salary and nothing to do; of civil service reform, to dispossess your neighbor of his office and obtain it for yourself. Let us consider this matter, he said, a little more broadly. Of course we are now dealing neither with the military nor with the naval service. We are considering customs and revenue service, the consular and diplomatic service, the postal service, the light-house service, the Indian Bureau, the service in the Land Department, — every thing and every person, in fact, who has to do with the collection of revenue, the carrying and handling of the mails, the survey and care of the public domain, the payment of pensions

and of the interest on the public debt. This service collects and disburses millions of money and employs thousands of persons. It is intimately connected with the welfare and happiness of all the people of this great nation. By this multifarious service the business of the nation is transacted. And just as capacity, probity, and fitness are required in the business of private life, so capacity, probity, and fitness are required of all who fill public stations, or, in other words, are employed in the civil service of the government.

Now, until about the year 1829, this was the rule with the government of this country. A man was appointed on account of his supposed fitness for the appointment given him, and he remained in office during good behavior. The early Presidents made appointments, but they made very few changes. Jefferson made some; but Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams made hardly any. President Jackson succeeded the latter in 1829, and in his eight years of official life made most sweeping changes. Democrats were appointed in place of Federalists and National Republicans. The same thing occurred when President Harrison came in in 1841, when Polk was inaugurated in 1845, when General Taylor was made President in 1849, when General Pierce succeeded in 1853, and, finally, when President Lincoln was inaugurated in 1861. These frequent and sweeping changes are among the evils complained of. President Lincoln, with the pressure of the civil war upon him, got in the habit of referring the selection of government appointees to the members of Congress. He thus saved himself much trouble, or thought he did, and at the same time threw upon Senators and Representatives the business of deciding upon conflicting claimants. In practice he really had to decide himself, after all, and to endure additional congressional wrangling besides. But that is what was done. And then Senators and Representatives got in the way of regarding these appointments as their perquisites, so to speak; and the more frequent the changes the

greater the number of men they could oblige with their recommendations.

And now the members of Congress began to be in trouble. Their constituents gave them no peace. The local managers all wanted and want office. Presently the departments at Washington began to employ women, and a new horror was added. All the pretty girls wanted clerkships, and a great many wanted clerkships that were not so pretty. The stories that are told in Washington, of the persistency of Congressmen in behalf of their lady constituents, and of other goings-on, are surprising, and cannot always be repeated. This interference of Congressmen is another evil. But I have not time to go into a statement of the evils and mischiefs of the present system, for, although President Hayes has made an effort at reform, still practically there is no real reform as yet. There is improvement in the service, and there is an increasing sentiment in favor of reform. But it is not embodied in legislation; it has no considerable body of Congressmen in its favor; it has no party organized for its support: it has simply a large number of thinking men in different parts of the country who are making their influence felt in favor of honest legislation and honest administration. That influence and that sentiment is constantly increasing. I cannot say that I think legislation is much more honest, but I think administration is; and I believe that if the members of the Cabinet at Washington were to have seats on the floor of the House, legislation would be vastly improved, our sessions shortened, and the civil service reform quite easily carried. [Loud applause.]

To give a full history of civil service reform in England would require a bulky octavo. The struggle began before our Revolutionary War, and was carried on for a hundred years. It never, however, could be justly characterized as a Cause with which one party or one set of men were identified; nor were the reforms effected with the same system and from the

same comprehensive view of the subject that characterized parliamentary reform. The only man who ever took a comprehensive view of the subject, and proposed a comprehensive plan of reform, was Edmund Burke, and his plan was defeated, never to be taken up again as proposed by him.

The reform, however, engaged the labors of other and more politic men than Burke. The Marquis of Rockingham carried important reforms, and so have Earl Russell and William E. Gladstone. Lord Macaulay lent important aid, and his draft of a form of civil service examination for the Indian service is now in use, almost in his very words. The present chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, committed himself to the reform at least twenty years ago.

These reforms and changes, although of the most radical and fundamental character, have been brought about so gradually that there has been no disturbance that can be scanned, and scarcely any deprivation of private emolument that can be noted. It requires much study to ascertain just what changes have been made, and just when and how they were brought about. Nor will the limits of the evening allow of anything like details. A survey of the evils of the English civil service, so called, at about the close of the war of the American Revolution (at which time they were at their height), some account of the remedies proposed and of what was from time to time accomplished, with a brief statement of the present condition of things, will be all I shall attempt.

ORIGIN OF CORRUPTION.

But as the civil service became corrupt through the influence of a corrupt Parliament, it is necessary to examine briefly the relations between the crown and Parliament after the restoration of Charles II., and even after the revolution which seated William and Mary on the throne of England. We shall find that the crown and the ministry planted the seeds of an evil which lasted two hundred years.

Charles, as is well known, was surrounded by a crowd of parasites, all bent on securing perquisites, places, and pensions. His mistresses and his ministers, even, were in the pay of the King of France, sometimes openly—the money being remitted directly to the King—and sometimes secretly, King Charles knowing nothing about it. In the struggles between Charles and the Parliament he did not always have the best of it, and Louis encouraged him in the use of French gold, with the idea of preventing harmony and good feeling between the King and Parliament. Thus Charles and his ministers were bribed by Louis, while Charles bribed members of Parliament, who in turn bribed the royal mistresses. And these shameful and shameless bargains were continued in the reign of James II., only that in place of lewd women were substituted Jesuit priests. The correspondence between the French ambassador in England and Louis XIV. amply proves all this. James was no sooner made King than Louis sent him £37,500, which was received with tears of joy, but with an intimation that a larger sum would be acceptable. Soon after, Barillon, the ambassador, received a further sum of £112,000, which he was instructed to “dole out cautiously.”¹ “He was authorized to use £30,000 for the purpose of corrupting members of the new House of Commons.”² And upon the reception of this money, Godolphin, Sunderland, and Rochester came, one after the other, so wrote Barillon, “to embrace the ambassador and to whisper to him that he had given new life to their royal master.”

But while Charles allowed himself to be seduced by a French mistress, and corrupted by French gold, and while King James followed him in the same ignominious servitude, Parliament itself was being debased, and its members were resorting to the same tactics. In the reign of Charles, his mistresses, and in the reign of James, Jesuit priests, acted, almost openly, as brokers in the sale and procurement of “honors,

¹ Macaulay, vol. i., p. 360.

² P. 363.

public trusts, peerages, regiments, frigates, embassies, governments, commissionerships, leases of crown lands, contracts for clothing, for provisions, for ammunition, and also of pardons for murder, for arson, and for robbery.”¹

BRIBING OF PARLIAMENT.

The incredible bigotry, faithlessness, and mismanagement of King James procured his downfall, and the enthronement of William and Mary. But when William was fairly seated he found “the taint of corruption, proceeding from the palace as its seat, had diffused itself through every office and every rank in every office” in the land. His difficulties were enhanced by the conduct of his ministers. Halifax, the prime minister, had become a Whig, and was a man of honor and a patriot. Danby, the lord president, was a Tory, and a bitter enemy of Halifax. Of the two secretaries of state, Nottingham was a Tory and Shrewsbury a Whig. Their constant effort was to draw the King in opposite directions. Mordaunt and Delamere—two of the lords of the treasury—were Whigs, it is true, but they hated each other, and only joined in hating Godolphin, the third lord, whose habits of business and perfect knowledge of details made him superior to all the rest. Macaulay says that “similar feuds raged at the other great boards, and through all the subordinate ranks of public functionaries.” Each tried to undermine and supplant the other, and to gain the favor of the King. But William absolutely refused to ally himself to either of the great factions, and in his coldness and hauteur gradually alienated himself from both. He was the first English king who reigned under the authority and with the coöperation of Parliament. It was indispensable that he should have its support. Louis XIV. was making war upon Holland, his native country, and threatening England. James, with a French army, had landed in Ireland. Clarendon, the uncle of the queen, was in league

¹ Macaulay, vol. iii., p. 48.

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with the enemy. There were traitors in every county in England, and even in the royal palace. King William drove James out of Ireland, and put down all rebellion. In the field, and at the head of his troops, he was victorious. But he could not turn his troops against Parliament, and so he made use of an influence to which they were amenable, and to which they did not object. But it was before the Irish rebellion was crushed that King William began to bribe his Parliament. Honest Bishop Burnet remonstrated. "Nobody," said William, "hates bribery more than I. But I have to do with a set of men who must be managed in this vile way or not at all. I must strain a point, or the country is lost."

In writing concerning these very transactions, Macaulay, in his third volume, says: "The history of the rise, progress, and decline of parliamentary corruption in England still remains to be written. No subject has called forth a greater quantity of eloquent vituperation and stinging sarcasm. Three generations of serious and sportive writers wept and laughed over the venality of the Senate. That venality was denounced on the hustings, anathematized from the pulpit, and burlesqued on the stage; was attacked by Pope in brilliant verse, by Bolingbroke in stately prose, by Swift with savage hatred, and by Gay with festive malice. . . . But none of those who railed or of those who jested took the trouble to verify the phenomena or to trace them to their real causes."

King Charles had a ministry known as the Cabal, from the initials of its members. One of the boldest and fiercest was Clifford, "who discovered that a noisy patriot who could no longer be sent to prison might be turned into a courtier by a goldsmith's note. Clifford's example was followed by his successors. It soon became a proverb that Parliament resembled a pump. Often, the wits said, when the pump appears to be dry, if a small quantity of water is poured in a great quantity rushes out; and so, when Parliament appears to be nig-

gantly, ten thousand pounds judiciously given in bribes will often produce a million in supplies. The evil was not diminished, nay, it was aggravated, by that revolution which freed England from so many other evils." . . . "The House of Commons was now more powerful than ever as against the crown, and yet was not more strictly responsible than formerly to the nation."¹ This is precisely the position of our own Congress. It has become more powerful as against the Executive. In effect it dictates appointments, or compels the withdrawal of such as are unsatisfactory. It has found a way to compel the withdrawal of troops, and to obtain a prescribed decision from the Supreme Court. With the increase of power there has come no corresponding increase of responsibility. Its measures, slowly matured in the secrecy of committee-rooms, are often hurried through without debate, under the pressure of the previous question, in defiance or in disregard of public opinion.

But to return to our subject.

The bribery of Parliament, which recommenced in the second year of the reign of William, continued, with scarce any intermission, to the ministry of William Pitt the younger. Sir Robert Walpole, one of the most notorious and systematic in his bribery,² was, after all, no worse than the aristocratic and honest Henry Pelham. The Duke of Newcastle bribed, and meanwhile squandered more than half of his estate.³ Godolphin bribed, and died poor. The one rule was, *they bribed*. They bribed in every possible way: by money, by pensions, by sinecures, by appointments to offices constituted

¹ Macaulay, vol. iii.

² Lecky, vol. ii., p. 565.

³ In H. Walpole's *Memoirs*, it is stated that the Duke of Newcastle "was one of the richest subjects in England, yet so lavish in his expenditure, that he was often in debt, and his plate in pawn." Mr. C. C. Hazewell, in the *Boston Traveller*, calls attention to the following statement by Lecky: "Though a great corrupter of others, he was not himself corrupt. During his official career he reduced his fortune from £25,000 to £6,000 a year, and he refused a pension when he retired."

for the purpose and made hereditary, and by organizing need-less boards upon which to place members of Parliament and their friends. William Pitt (Lord Chatham) was the first to decline the perquisites attached to the office of paymaster of the forces, at a time when he was poor, thereby securing to himself unbounded popularity;¹ and subsequently, as prime minister, he refused to have anything to do with bribing Parliament, relying solely upon his unrivaled eloquence. Parliament, however, was still too venal, and compelled him to take as his associate the Duke of Newcastle, who was perfectly willing to avail himself of the spoils system and to keep a large share of it to himself. I shall have more to say on this subject presently.

EFFORTS AT REFORM.

Parliament, however, early commenced legislating against these evils. In May, 1692, the "Commons passed a bill to prohibit all members hereafter chosen from accepting any office under the crown, but the Lords rejected it. In the following year it was agreed to by both houses, when the King refused his assent. Later in his reign, however, this principle of disqualification was adopted—the commissioners of revenue boards being the first to whom it was applied."² At this time "the house swarmed with placemen of all kinds: lords of the treasury, lords of the admiralty, commissioners of customs, commissioners of the excise, commissioners of prizes, tellers, auditors, receivers, paymasters, officers of the mint, officers of the household, colonels of regiments, captains of men-of-war, and governors of forts."³ In 1700, it was enacted that no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension under the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons. But this was soon repealed. In the reign of Anne, however, it was en-

¹ Lecky, vol. ii., p. 515.

² May, vol. i., p. 295.

³ Macaulay, vol. iv., p. 269.

acted that the holder of every new office created after the 25th of October, 1705, and every one accepting a pension from the crown *during pleasure*, was incapacitated from sitting in Parliament. The members of the House of Commons, also, on accepting any old office from the crown, were obliged to resign, but were eligible for reëlection.¹ This secured the submission of the acceptance of the office to the constituents of the member, and resulted in their approval or disapproval. This principle has, ever since, been resolutely maintained. For instance, when there is a change in the ministry, all the members of the new cabinet resign their seats in Parliament, — unless they are members of the House of Lords, — and submit to the chances of a reëlection.

In the succeeding reigns of George I., II., and III., efforts were made to prevent pensioners for terms of years from holding seats in Parliament. In one reign six bills were passed, with that end in view, by the Commons, and rejected in the Lords. But the difficulty was that pensions were held by unsuspected persons. Mr. Rose Fuller, for example, who had been a staunch Whig, was bought off by a secret pension which he enjoyed for years, and the cause of his apostasy was not discovered until after his death. In 1742 the Place Bill, which had been thrice rejected by the Lords and twice by the Commons, was passed and received the royal assent. This act disqualified chiefly clerks and holders of subordinate offices in the departments from holding seats in Parliament. Concerning these functionaries, thus excluded, Macaulay remarks: "The consequence is that the state possesses a valuable body of servants who remain unchanged, while cabinet after cabinet is formed and dissolved; who instruct every succeeding minister in his duties, and with whom it is the most sacred point of honor to give true information, sincere advice, and strenuous assistance to their superior, for the time being."

While the number of places held by members of Parliament

¹ May, vol. i., p. 295.

was being continually reduced by means of legislative enactment, the general patronage of the government was constantly increasing by reason of augmented establishments and expenditure. The acquisition of the Canadas, of Jamaica, and of various other dependencies, before the year 1770, added immensely to the number of the appointees and to the influence and power of the crown. George III., during the ministry of Lord North, availed himself to the utmost of patronage as a means of strengthening and extending this influence. The character of government officials in this country just previous to the Revolution is well known. Their insolence and imprudence tended in no small degree to bring on the war. The obstinacy of the King and the inefficiency of his ministers gave us the final victory.

SOURCES OF CORRUPTION.

It was at this time, when Lord North's administration was reeling under the blows of a powerful opposition, that Edmund Burke made his celebrated speech for reform. He charged "that neither the present nor any other first lord of the treasury has ever been able to take a survey, or to make even a tolerable guess, of the expenses of government for any one year, so as to enable him with the least degree of certainty, or even of probability, to bring his affairs within compass;" so that his demand for reform was as much in the interest of sound finance as of a pure government. At this time the sources of corruption were to be found in (1) the servility and venality of the Parliament; (2) the endless array of placemen and useless officials connected with the management of crown estates; (3) the abuses of the civil list; (4) the expense and incompetency of the Board of Works; (5) the method of paying the army and navy through treasurers and paymasters, who had possession of enormous sums for which they were never called to account, and with which they did a banking business on their own private account;

(6) the holders of patents or sinecures attached to the exchequer; (7) the useless and worse than useless Board of Trade for the colonies; (8) the colonial civil list; (9) and, finally, the customs and internal revenue service for England, Scotland, and Ireland, — making nine main channels of corruption. This is certainly a dreary bog to explore, but if we find the English have succeeded in purifying their civil service, if they have uprooted evils and have introduced economy, efficiency, system, and due responsibility, may we not hope in due time to accomplish like results in this country?

PARLIAMENT.

First, Parliament was composed in large degree, as has been stated, of persons holding offices, pensions, or sinecures. In the first Parliament of George I. there were two hundred and seventy-one such members; in the first Parliament of George II. there were two hundred and fifty; but in the first of George IV. there were only eighty-nine, exclusive of officers in the army and navy. In 1833 there were but sixty members holding offices and pensions, and the regular operation of existing statutes will steadily reduce this number. All through the reigns of George I. and George II., and down to the close of Lord North's ministry, in the reign of George III., the bribery of members of Parliament, as has been stated, was continuous and unblushing. In fact, it was reduced to such system that the very sums paid and the methods adopted can be traced. Mr. Grenville's papers reveal the amounts paid from year to year during his ministry. Lord Bute, who succeeded Lord Chatham, paid £58,000 in the year 1761; in the next year, £82,168. A letter is preserved from Lord Say and Seale, a member of Parliament, who, having received £300, returned it, with a letter of apology, and the following postscript: —

“P. S. — As a free horse wants no spur, so I stand in need of no inducement, or *douceur*, to lend my small assist-

ance to the King, or his friends, in the present administration."

"Throughout the administration of Lord North," says May, "the purchase of votes in Parliament, by direct pecuniary bribes, was still a common practice." The King's complicity, always suspected, is now beyond a doubt. Writing to Lord North on the 1st of March, 1781, the King said: "Mr. Robinson sent me a list of the speakers last night, and of a very good majority. I have this morning sent him £6000, to be placed to the same purpose as the sum transmitted on the 21st of August." No other conclusion can be drawn from this letter, than that the King was in the habit of transmitting money to secure majorities for the minister who was then fighting his battles in the House of Commons. In Wraxall's Memoirs it is stated that Mr. Robinson, as secretary to the treasury, had the management of the House of Commons, and was the depositary of the *livre rouge*, supposed to contain the names of members retained by the ministers.

CORRUPTION THROUGH PATRONAGE.

Under the ministry of the younger Pitt the direct bribery of members of Parliament ceased entirely. His was too lofty a soul to condescend to such means. But none the less did he use patronage to reward his friends and maintain his power. And although the number of placemen in Parliament was being reduced, and the practice of direct bribery was discontinued, still, "patronage was systematically used as a means of rewarding past political service, and of insuring future support." This form of corruption is so similar to what has been practiced since President Jackson's time in this country, that it is worth while to note the language employed by an English writer in alluding to this subject. May remarks: "But throughout these changes, patronage has been the mainspring of the organization of parties. It has ever been used to promote the interest and consolidate the strength

of that party in which its distribution happened to be vested. The higher appointments offered attractions and rewards to the upper classes for their political support. The lower appointments were not less influential with constituencies. The offer of places as a corrupt inducement to vote at elections has long been recognized by the legislature as an insidious form of bribery. [2d of George II. and 49th of George III.] But, without committing any offense against the law, patronage has been systematically used as the means of rewarding past political service, and insuring future support. The greater part of all local patronage has been dispensed through the hands of members of Parliament supporting the ministers of the day. They have claimed and received it as their right; and have distributed it avowedly to strengthen their political connection.¹ The same cause has served to perpetuate party distinctions among constituent bodies, apart from varieties of interests and principles. The ministerial party are bound together by favors received and expected; the party in opposition — smarting under neglect and hope deferred — combine against their envied rivals, and follow, with all the ardor of self-interest, the Parliamentary leaders, who are denied at once the objects of their own ambition and the power of befriending their clients. *Hence when the principles of contending parties have seemed to be approaching agreement, their interests have kept them nearly as far asunder as ever.*"

THE CROWN ESTATES.

Second. If this, then, was the condition of Parliament, what might be expected of everything which it influenced?

¹ From the London correspondence of the *Daily Advertiser*, April 12, 1878: "Be it noted that a member of Parliament has nothing to gain but honor. He serves without salary; *he has no patronage to dispense*, and he cannot expect to obtain any recompense unless he should rise to be a member of the government; and even then, if he become a secretary of state, he will find that his outlay is far in excess of his official salary."

The principality of Wales, the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, and the earldom of Chester were crown properties. But as the management was rather to reward partisans than to obtain legitimate results, the net revenue was next to nothing. Burke said of the duchy of Lancaster, that it was worth but £4000 to *revenue*, but forty or fifty thousand to influence. And as to Wales and Chester, he doubted if their productive exchequer yielded any returns at all. The deputy auditor of Wales having reported that the surveyor-general of that principality had reported that his majesty's mines and forests have produced very little profit either to the public revenue or to private individuals, a Mr. John Probert, member of Parliament, was commissioned, with a salary of £300 per annum, to examine and "report." The result forms one of Burke's most amusing periods: "Probert, thus armed and accoutred, and paid, proceeded on his adventure; but he was no sooner arrived on the confines of Wales than all Wales was in arms to meet him. That nation is brave and full of spirit. Since the invasion of King Edward and the massacre of the bards there never was such a tumult and alarm and uproar through the region of Prestatyn. Snowdon shook to its base. Cader-Idris was loosened from its foundations. The fury of war blew her horn on the mountains. The rocks poured down their goat-herds, and the deep caverns vomited out their miners. Everything above ground and everything under ground was in arms. Probert went to look for revenue, like his masters upon another occasion, and, like his masters, he found rebellion.¹ Mr. Probert gave up his adventure, and keeps his pension. So ends the famous history of the revenue adventures of the bold Baron North and the good Knight Probert upon the mountains of Venodotia." It is probable that this *exposé* ended that pension. There are no less than twelve leading and voluminous writers on the topics embraced under this head.

¹ Alluding to the attempt to tax America.

THE CIVIL LIST.

Third, the civil list. Under this name were paid the judges, the foreign ambassadors and consuls, the tradesmen who supplied the royal household, the court servants, the private pensioners of the crown, the heads of departments, the public pensioners, the officers of the royal household, and, lastly, the cabinet ministers. It was a strange fact that if the treasury was short of funds, the judges and foreign ambassadors were as liable to remain unpaid as the grocers and vintners who supplied the royal kitchen. There was not the slightest responsibility for expenditure. The King or his ministers could add at will, and privately, to the pension list; to the number of servants in the royal kitchen; to the clerks and upper servants; and if the bills of tradesmen were not audited, who can doubt that overcharges allowed favored favorites to profit thereby? As a necessary consequence there was always a debt upon the civil list. Before George III. had been nine years on the throne, the arrears were over £513,000. Inquiry was demanded, but all investigation was resisted by the ministers, and Parliament granted the money without the least information. The next year motions were made for inquiry, and Lord Chatham avowed his conviction that civil list revenues were expended in corrupting members of Parliament. After eight years the king asked for £618,340 to discharge arrearages, and for an addition of £100,000 per annum to his income, and he got it. One prominent cause of expense and of corruption was found in the antiquated organization of the royal household. The court forms and ceremonies, and the court officials, the officers of state and ceremony, those who had charge of the furnishing and equipment of the royal palaces and of furnishing the royal table, including, of course, all the tables in all the royal palaces, were all founded on the customs of feudalism. It is manifest that the system which was indispensable when the

king had to provide his own provisions on a royal journey, or when his own forests supplied the game for the royal table, was entirely out of place when everything could easily be purchased in open market. Furthermore, in former times it was understood that the high road to fortune and preferment lay in being allowed to take place in the royal household; and sons of noble families were not above taking menial positions about the court. Burke remarked upon the acknowledged fact that the king's turnspit was a member of Parliament. By the year 1853, the number of useless officials had been greatly reduced; in that year, however, there were two *hereditary* joint great chamberlains of England (Lord Wiltoughby d'Eresby and the Marquis of Cholmondeley), with a secretary; the *hereditary* earl marshal, with a secretary; the lord steward; the treasurer; the comptroller; the master of household; the secretary to the board of green cloth; the lord chamberlain; the vice-chamberlain; the comptroller of accounts; eight lords in waiting; eight grooms in waiting; one extra groom in waiting; the keeper of the privy purse; the master of ceremonies; the assistant marshal; the examiner of plays, and the principal portrait painter. In Scotland, there was the *hereditary* lord high constable; the knight marischal; the *hereditary* royal standard bearer; the lord register; the *hereditary* master of household; the *hereditary* standard bearer; the *hereditary* armor bearer (Lady Seaton Stewart); the *hereditary* usher of the white rod (who were *heirs* of the late Sir Peter Walker); the *hereditary* carver; the *hereditary* cup-bearers, and as many more of the same sort. In Ireland there was still another set. Burke said of this remnant of feudalism, that "the royal household has lost all that was stately and venerable in the antique manners, without retrenching anything of the cumbrous charge of a Gothic establishment. . . . You have tons of ancient pomp in a vial of modern luxury." Burke proposed that the royal table should be furnished by contract, at so much a plate, and to the lowest satisfactory bidder. His plan was not adopted.

In 1782, under the Marquis of Rockingham, the civil list expenditure was divided into eight classes. "Many useless offices were abolished; restraints were imposed upon the use of secret service money; the pension list was diminished; and securities were provided for a more effectual supervision of the royal expenditure." But the list was always behind, and from the accession of George III. to the year 1816, Parliament had, at different times, voted the payment of £3,398,091 of arrearages.

The civil list has now been relieved from the payment of judicial salaries, also of the salaries connected with the diplomatic service, and from numerous miscellaneous charges. The annual charges of the list have been definitely fixed at £385,000, and the sovereign is empowered to grant pensions annually to an amount not over £1200. The House of Commons has now nothing to do with the civil list patronage. Such as there is rests at the disposal of the ministry. Very few changes are made, however, and it is considered that the whole business is practically taken out of politics.¹

BOARD OF WORKS.

Fourth, the Board of Works. Of this board, Burke said that "in seven years it had cost in salaries £400,000, and that its good works were as carefully concealed as good works ought to be: they were perfectly invisible." This board is now out of existence, and in place of it is the Metropolitan Board of

¹ In May, 1839, Lord Melbourne's administration having resigned, the Queen invited Sir Robert Peel to form a ministry, which he would have done had not the Queen refused to part with the ladies of the bedchamber. Sir Robert had found that the wives of Lords Morpeth and Normanby were the ladies nearest to the Queen; and, as their husbands were obnoxious to him and his party on the question of Ireland, he was unwilling they should remain. The Queen remained firm and held fast to the ladies of Whig families, and so Lord Melbourne took office again. But it was presently ascertained that the act of settlement put this household patronage into the hands of the ministry, and the Queen had to yield. — *Miss Martineau's History of England*, vol. iv., p. 156.

Works, constituted in 1855, elected by the votes of the metropolitan district of London (that is, London and certain surrounding municipalities). It is one of the most successful of all the devices for governing that great metropolis.

THE PAYMASTER OF THE FORCES.

Fifth, the management of the funds of the army and navy. Formerly, as has been said, the paymaster of the forces would have something like £100,000 in his possession all the time, — indeed, no one knew how much he had, — and this sum he used as a banker does his capital. Burke said, “The great and invidious profits of the pay office are from the *bank* that is held in it.” It preyed on the necessities of officers and soldiers alike, and the gains were enormous. There were other difficulties growing out of the construction and application of antiquated statutes. Burke proposed that the paymasters should be merely administrative, and that they should pay in drafts on the treasury, which should be honored by the treasury agents. This old system has long since disappeared, and now there is exact and rigid responsibility.

SINECURES.

Sixth, the holders of sinecures attached to the exchequer. They were held for life, and descended from father to son. They were always executed by deputy, and “the duty of the principal,” as Burke said, “was as nothing.” The profits were held to be enormous. At that time (1780) they were held by the descendants of the Walpoles, Pelhams, and Townshends of a former generation, and their title was by a royal patent, like a patent of nobility. The Duke of Newcastle held one, and by virtue of it had his dining-room in the Parliament building of that day and directly under the hall of the House of Commons. It was extraordinary that Burke, with all his indomitable courage, hesitated and apologized as he attacked these sinecures. Richard Bentley characterized

them as "freeholds." The reports upon this special abuse fill volumes. Families were founded, titles endowed, and broken fortunes repaired out of the public revenues. But the whole system perished under exposure, and to Joseph Hume is to be attributed, more than to any one else, the patient industry and fearless public spirit which accomplished the result. All sinecures and reversions are now abolished, offices discontinued or consolidated, and the scale of salary revised and apportioned to the duties performed throughout the public service.

COLONIAL BOARD.

Seventh, the board of trade for the colonies. This was the board, consisting of eight members of Parliament, with salaries of £1000 per annum each, that managed the settlement of Georgia, and that procured the exodus of the French settlers from Nova Scotia. The board was nothing but a job, and all its management was dictated by private jobbery. I mention it because of its relations with this country. It had no permanent existence.

COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE.

Eighth, came the colonial civil service. The colonies, of course, offered a wide field for the disposal of political patronage. "The most lucrative colonial salary," says May, "would often be earned by deputy." Infants in the cradle were sometimes endowed for life with a colonial appointment, to be executed by deputy. Other offices, again, to which residence was attached, were too frequently given to men wholly unfit for employment at home, but who were supposed to be equal to colonial service, where indolence, incapacity, or doubtful character might escape exposure. General Huske wrote concerning America: "As to civil officers appointed for America, most of the places in the gift of the crown have been filled with broken members of Parliament, of bad, if

any, principles, *valets de chambre*, electioneering scoundrels, and even livery servants. In one word, America has for many years been made the hospital of England."

Such men were more mischievous in a colony than at home. They excited the jealousy of the colonists, many of whom were better qualified for office than the strangers who came amongst them to enjoy power, wealth, and distinction, which were denied to themselves. To allay discontent, the government finally surrendered to the local governors all appointments under £200 a year, to be filled from among the citizens of the several colonies. India has a special administration, differing from all the other dependencies of the crown. Her governor has larger powers, and all appointments in the civil, medical, engineering, and artillery service of that immense and densely populated country are based upon competitive examination. This, undoubtedly, secures to England the best attainable service, and thus enables a few Europeans to hold in subjection, and yet to govern mildly and equitably, an enormous population.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION.

The plan for the competitive examination was drawn up by a board consisting of Lord Macaulay, Lord Ashburton, Dr. Melvill, Dr. Jowett, and Sir John Shaw Lefevre. Lord Macaulay drew the report and formed the plan, with the list of subjects for examination and the proportion of marks to be allotted to each. The list was adopted in its entirety, and in fact all the recommendations of the committee received the same substantial compliment. This was in 1854, under the India Act of 1853. Its success has long been unquestioned. Trevelyan, in his "Life of Macaulay," says that the plan was so framed "as to bring out all the strong points of the competitive system, and avoid its perils. He provided simple but effective machinery for admitting into the service men of energy and ability, whose faculties were keen and whose acquirements were solid, and for excluding those who rested their

hopes of success upon masses of half-digested, heterogeneous learning."

THE INTERNAL AND CUSTOMS SERVICE.

Ninth, the internal and customs revenue service of Great Britain. Formerly there was a swarm of officials of every grade, — appointed with little or no regard to fitness, but, as has been stated before, with reference to party services in the past or future. The abolition of the Corn Laws, and the modification of the tariff in 1842 and 1846, led to the discharge of a great number of the customs revenue officials. There was no longer the pretense that their services were required. And as soon as civil service reform was successful in India, efforts were made for the adoption of the principle of competitive examination of candidates for office in Great Britain. It met, of course, with the most violent opposition. It was recommended in the Queen's speech, and had Mr. Gladstone, in the cabinet, for a champion, assisted by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote, who had drawn up a report in its favor. That action was postponed until the year following was the cause of much discouragement and chagrin to Macaulay, who was very impatient in such matters. On the 21st of May, 1855, was adopted an order in council, by which the patronage of the crown and its officers at home was partially limited to those who should successfully pass the examination of the civil service commission, then established. Concerning this system, the Hon. E. A. Rollins, in his report as commissioner of internal revenue, dated November 30, 1867, remarks: —

"The system is not so comprehensive as that of several countries of the Continent, but its advantages are growing more and more apparent through all the departments of the government. There are in fact two examinations, — one to determine whether a person has the minimum or standard qualification necessary to candidacy, and the other of a competitive character, in which all the candidates designated for a particular position participate. He who secures the greatest

number of marks indicating degrees of proficiency, both in theoretical and practical acquirements, provided he has done well in all, receives the appointment. The commission, however, have a well-established rule, 'that, unless we are satisfied with the evidence produced of the moral character of candidates, we are bound to withhold our certificates! The number of persons rejected will suffice to prove that these precautions are by no means superfluous, even though the candidates are, in most cases, recommended by persons in some position in society.'

"The marks are published with the list of appointments, and the applicants and the public are made acquainted with the actual and relative standing of all who become connected with the service. A candidate must be free from debt before appointment, and must make solemn oath that neither he, nor any person for him, within his knowledge, has, directly or indirectly, given or promised to give any gratuity or reward for obtaining, or endeavoring to obtain him a position. Any officer arrested for debt is suspended, and, if not free from debt at the end of twenty-eight days, is superseded. The elective franchise is denied to all officers of the service. Promotions are made only after prescribed periods of employment, and only upon the application of the candidate himself. Should another make application for him, and he not be able to show that it was without his knowledge, he is punished for the offense by a reprimand; for the second of a like nature, by transfer, and for the third, by reduction. Promotions are earned, not given through favor, and are indicative of absolute merit. Officers are liable to be transferred to any place in the kingdom, and, although periodical transfers are discontinued, the board reserves the right to transfer at pleasure, without ascribing cause therefor. There is permanency in the service. Removals of those immediately connected with the inland revenue are never made for personal or political reasons. I have examined a register of those now

employed, and while I have not made an accurate calculation of their average period of service, because of the want of time necessary to do so, I am sure that it cannot be less than fourteen years. Many have served from twenty to forty years, and a comfortable support is assured to all who shall be placed upon the superannuated list. Mr. Timm, after a long and honorable service as solicitor to the commission, has recently retired on a pension of £1800 per annum, and Mr. Trevor, from that of comptroller of legacy duties, upon an allowance of about £1500, after a consecutive service of forty-one years and five months. As many changes have been occasioned in the British service by death as by all other reasons combined."

THE FRENCH SYSTEM.

It is not contended that the English service is the best attainable. The French system is in some respects better. "It is the result of nearly a hundred years of experience. Every officer in it below minister of finance commenced his service in a clerkship, or some more subordinate position, and the advancement which his fidelity and ability secured has never been hindered by political frowns, or even by political revolutions. His appointment was without partiality, and public examinations have awarded him his promotions. For more than fifty years an official record has been kept of every man's official conduct as reported by different superior officers Under such a system, it becomes almost impossible for an unworthy man to work his way to a position where his incompetency or corruption can largely prejudice the reputation of the service or materially affect the revenue of the empire."¹

THE RESULTS.

Concerning the reforms which have been thus far attained, May briefly remarks: "The principle of competition lately applied to the distribution of offices has threatened to subvert the established influence of patronage. With open com-

¹ Rollins, as above cited.

petition candidates owe nothing to ministers. In this way the civil and medical services of India, the scientific corps of the army, and some civil departments of the state have already been lost to ministers of the crown. This loss, however, has been compensated by the limited competition introduced into other departments. There, for every vacancy, a minister nominates one or more candidates. The best is chosen; and with the same number of offices the patronage of the minister is multiplied. Two of his nominees are disappointed, but the patron is not the less entitled to their gratitude. . . . Their lack of proficiency is no fault of his."

It is evident that appointments based upon competitive examinations are made mainly with reference to the public interest. The nominations come from the friends of the person making them; but if the parties are all unsuitable they fail of an appointment; and if any one succeeds it is because he merits success. How different is this plan from one in which regard is had to the recommendations of politicians, who meanwhile are considering merely the question of strengthening themselves in their personal contests!

We have seen the evils that environed the English civil service one hundred years ago: the King bribing his Parliament, — his ministers acting meanwhile as his pliant tools; the Parliament so debased that the opposition, in their despair, refused to attend its sittings; corruption in every branch of the service, at home and abroad. But now all is changed. The crown has an exact allowance. All patronage is taken away. The Queen cannot even appoint the principal ladies of the bed-chamber. She is allowed but £1200 a year for pensions. Parliament has no voice in dispensing patronage.

May says: "Parliament has met the increasing demands of a community rapidly advancing in population and wealth, by constant additions to the power and patronage of the crown," meaning that the appointments are made in the name of the crown, although the selections are really made by the ministry,

who appoint not only the judges of the higher courts, but of the numerous county courts, and the local stipendiary magistrates. But nearly every one of these functionaries is prohibited from sitting in Parliament. They hold office under certain tenure, and are removable only by impeachment or by a prescribed form of trial. There are, therefore, none of those sweeping and ruthless changes that are witnessed in this country when a great party succeeds in electing its Presidential candidate and defeating the party in power. The ministry naturally fill all vacancies, or nearly all, from the ranks of their friends. They also change the heads of departments, and generally those with whom they are to sustain confidential relations. But the vast body of office-holders remain unchanged. Consequently their elections are never a scramble for spoils. The contest turns on public questions and matters of national and universal interest. Unhappily their elections for members of Parliament are embittered by feuds and rivalries, and are often justly chargeable with bribery; but whatever of corruption there may be in obtaining their elections, it ceases when they are once in Parliament. And to this Parliament the ministry, representing the vast power of the crown, and "holding it in trust," as May puts it, "for the benefit of the people," are directly responsible. When Parliament is in session they are in direct and constant contact with each other; they maintain a check upon each other; and it is this *contact* and the debates consequent upon it, and the constant criticisms in newspapers and periodicals upon those debates, that has brought about these reforms. As May says, the evils of the civil service "*perished under exposure.*" But it was because they were able to fix the responsibility for any given evil upon the exact person. And if in this country, as I said in the beginning of the lecture, the heads of the different departments of our executive were upon the floor of Congress, and participating in debates, there would be comparatively little difficulty in bringing about civil service reform in the United States.

LECTURE II.

LEGISLATIVE REFORM IN ENGLAND.

THE act to amend the representation of England and Wales received the royal sanction on the 7th of June, 1832. It was matured by the Whig ministry of Earl Grey. It was passed in the second year of the reign of William IV., after two abortive attempts by the same ministry.

Reform in Parliament was first proposed by the celebrated Earl of Chatham in 1768, and was the subject of continual effort on the part of the Whigs for the next two generations; but, unfortunately, they were not in power, save for two brief periods. The Tories always resisted reform, and it was only by a rare combination of circumstances that it was finally carried. But at the last the change effected was so radical that it amounted, as Lord Brougham said, to more than reform; it was *revolution*; but it was revolution sanctioned by legal forms and legislative proceedings.

Previous to the passage of this bill the nobility had an enormous control over the composition of the House of Commons. The small boroughs elected only the persons whom they dictated. May, in his Constitutional History, states that the Duke of Norfolk was represented by eleven members; Lord Lonsdale by nine; Lord Darlington by seven; the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Buckingham, and Lord Carrington by six each. It is stated, on authority, that in England and Wales, seventy members were returned from thirty-five precincts, in which there were scarcely any electors at all;

ninety members were returned from forty-six places having less than fifty electors; and thirty-seven from nineteen places having not more than one hundred electors; while such large precincts as Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham had no members at all. But the worst part of it was that the members sent from these small precincts were the simple nominees of peers or of wealthy persons allied to the peerage. In Scotland and Ireland the condition of things was worse than in England. In 1823 less than 3000 persons did the voting for all Scotland; in no county did the number exceed 240, and in one it was as low as nine; and of this small number a considerable fraction were fictitious voters, without property or even local residence. Edinburgh and Glasgow had each a constituency of only thirty-three persons; the county of Argyle, with a population of 100,000, had but one hundred and fifteen electors, of whom eighty-four were "out-voters," with no land in the county. Invernesshire, with a population of 90,000, had but eighty-eight electors, of whom fifty were out-voters. The county of Bute, with a population of 14,000, had twenty-one electors, of whom only one resided in the county. It is recorded in Hansard's debates, that on one occasion but one man, besides the sheriff and the returning officer, attended the meeting. "He, of course, took the chair, constituted the meeting, called over the roll of freeholders, answered to his own name, took the vote, and elected himself." Such was the state of things in Scotland. And in Ireland it was equally bad. More than two thirds of the Irish members were returned, not by the people of Ireland, but by fifty or sixty influential patrons.

These facts were known, and were the scandal of the whole country. Nearly every one of the able Whig leaders, for over sixty years, had, in succession, tried his hand at reform. Lord Chatham, as I have said, commenced the effort in 1768. The notorious Alderman Wilkes tried in 1776. Junius, in his famous letters, proclaimed the scandal of a venal Parliament.

William Pitt the younger followed the example of his father, and introduced reform bills both in 1782 and in 1783. And he was successively followed in the same unsuccessful effort by Lord Russell, Lord Erskine, and other eminent men, in the years 1785, 1790, 1792, 1797, 1809, 1810, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1822, 1823, 1826, 1829, 1830, 1831, and, finally, in 1832, when substantially the bill of 1831 was carried.

Now, to the student of politics in the present day there is no period of English history more interesting than that which embraces the struggle for reform in Parliament. It is akin in character to our own antislavery conflict. It includes most of the reign of George III., all of the reign of George IV., and the commencement of the reign of William IV. During this period occurred the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, the wars of Napoleon, the tremendous victories of the Nile and of Trafalgar, by which England obtained the empire of the seas, while on the land, although she lost her American colonies, she finally maintained her ground in a most heroic struggle against the greatest warrior of modern times. This was the time of William Pitt, of Charles James Fox, of Wilberforce, of Sheridan, of Windham, of Lord Erskine, the brilliant advocate, and, finally, of Sir Robert Peel, of Earl Grey, and of Lord Brougham. It includes the entire career of Lord Nelson, and all the military and ministerial life of Wellington. It saw the invention of the steam-engine, the locomotive, the steamboat, the famous inventions of Arkwright and others, which added so prodigiously to the wealth and power of England. It was a period of immense activity in science and in literature. Scott, Byron, Moore, Rogers, Campbell, Miss Edgeworth, in poetry and fiction alternately astonished and delighted the public. During this period journalism became a respectable profession; the law of libel was restrained and defined, and the liberty of the press secured.

George III. came to the throne in October, 1760. Eng-

land was then at war with France, and William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was prime minister, being both secretary of war and secretary of state. It was to her successes in this war that England owes her present imperial position among the nations, and no one person contributed so largely to those successes as had William Pitt. When he took office in 1757 the nation was undergoing the shame of a series of disasters. "But his energy and intrepidity," says Macaulay, "soon changed everything. His ardor inflamed the nation. Every soldier and every sailor felt it, and the commanders whom he employed seemed endowed with his own adventurous, impetuous, and defying character." General Wolfe took Quebec. Admiral Hawke destroyed the French fleet, during a storm, in the Bay of Biscay. Colonel Clive, with a few hundred men, broke the hold of France upon India and laid the foundations of an empire. That was the time when France lost Canada and Nova Scotia in the West, and all India in the East, and to William Pitt was ascribed the credit of these amazing successes. "He stood," says the historian, "the first Englishman of his time. He domineered over the House of Commons; he was adored by the people; he was admired by all Europe." This was the prime minister whom George III. found in office. His little soul could not endure the Great Commoner; and, incited probably by Lord Bute, his favorite, he resolved to get rid of him. The speech which he made to his council was drawn up by Lord Bute, and was not submitted to the cabinet. It contained reflections on the conduct of affairs in the late reign. Then began a series of well-planned affronts upon Pitt, by means of which he was, in 1761, ultimately driven to resign. From that time until William Pitt, the son of Lord Chatham, was called to power, the history of England is a record of shame and disaster. The ministers were feeble men, and under the absolute control of the King. Lord Chatham, when in authority, held the attitude of a responsible minister,—domi-

neering, it is true, but responsible to Parliament. His measures were submitted to the Commons and there debated. But George III. would have only a ministry responsible to himself.

After several changes, Lord North, a Tory and favorable to prerogative, became prime minister. He was indolent and good-natured, and personally attached to the King. He therefore yielded his own opinions and judgment, and for years was a passive instrument of the royal will. And George III., although small-minded, was resolute and obstinate, and for years dictated in every department of government. In 1770 Lord Chatham stated in Parliament that since the King's accession there had been no independent minister. He not only controlled his ministers but watched how members of Parliament spoke and voted, or whether they abstained from voting, or whether they were silent when he expected them to speak. On the 14th of March, 1772, he wrote: "I wish a list prepared of those that went away, and of those that deserted to the minority. That would be a rule for my conduct in the drawing-room to-morrow." Every military officer who was in Parliament, and failed to sustain the policy of the King, felt his displeasure. Colonel Barré, the well-known friend of this country, was purposely slighted, and to mark his sense of the injustice, he resigned his commission. The King also encouraged bribery in elections. "If the Duke of Northumberland wants some gold pills for the election, it would be wrong not to satisfy him," he wrote to Lord North. His pride, stupidity, and folly occasioned our War of Independence, and cost Great Britain the loss of her finest colonies,—in fact, about the only colonies she had peopled by her own race and blood. By bribery and intimidation the King was supreme in Parliament and with his ministry; the great Whig leaders were enraged, sick at heart, and full of disgust. They even withdrew from Parliament rather than witness legislative acts they were powerless to prevent.

The want of success in the war with his revolted colonies, and the clamor of the public, induced the King to consider the question of a change in his ministry. His terms, however, were such that no statesman of independence would accept office. Finding the compliance of independent statesmen less ready than he desired, he writes to Lord Thurlow, December 18, 1779: "From the cold disdain with which I am treated, it is evident to me what I am to expect from the Opposition (the Whigs) if I was to call them into my service. To obtain their support I must deliver up my person, my principles, and my dominions into their hands." "In other words," says May, "the King dreaded the admission of any ministers into his councils who claimed an independent judgment upon the policy for which they would become responsible." The increasing influence of the crown, and the active personal exercise of its prerogatives, attracted more and more the attention of the people and of Parliament. In the debate at the opening of Parliament, November 25, 1779, Charles James Fox said that he "saw very early indeed, in the present reign, the plan of government which had been laid down, and had since been invariably pursued in every department. It was not the mere rumor of the streets that the King was his own minister; the fatal truth was evident, and had made itself evident in every circumstance of the war carried on against America and the West Indies."

Early in the following year numerous public meetings were held, associations formed, and petitions presented in favor of economic reforms, and complaining of the undue influence of the crown, and of the patronage and corruption by which it was maintained. It was for the redress of these grievances that Mr. Burke offered his celebrated scheme of economical reform. He confessed that the main object of this scheme was "the reduction of that corrupt influence which is itself the perennial spring of all prodigality and of all disorder; which loads us more than millions of debt; which takes away

vigor from our arms, wisdom from our councils, and every shadow of authority and credit from the most venerable parts of our constitution."

On the 6th of April of the same year, Mr. Dunning moved resolutions in a committee of the whole founded on these petitions. The first is memorable in political history. It affirmed, "*That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and OUGHT TO BE DIMINISHED.*" It was carried by a majority of eighteen. A second resolution was agreed to without division, affirming the right of the House to correct abuses in the civil-list expenditures, and every other branch of the public revenue; and also a third, affirming "that it is the duty of this House to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to this House."

The same matters were debated in the House of Lords. The debate on the Earl of Shelburne's motion, February 8th, for an inquiry into the public expenditure, brought out further testimonies to the influence of the crown. Of these the most remarkable was given by the Marquis of Rockingham, who asserted that since the accession of the King there had been a "fixed determination to govern this country under the forms of law, through the influence of the crown." "Everything within and without, whether in Cabinet, Parliament, or elsewhere, carried about it the most unequivocal marks of such a system; the whole economy of executive government, in all its branches, proclaimed it, whether professional, deliberative, or official. The supporters of it in books, pamphlets, and newspapers avowed it and defended it without reserve." "Through the influence of the crown majorities had been procured to support any men or any measures which an administration thus constituted thought proper to dictate."

This very debate, and the vote consequent upon it, afforded an occasion for the exercise, in an arbitrary and offensive manner, of the king's prerogative. The Marquis of Caer-

marthen, for giving a vote in favor of the motion for inquiry, was dismissed from the lord lieutenancy of the East Riding, in the county of York ; and the Earl of Pembroke, for the same reason, was dismissed from the lord lieutenancy of Wiltshire, an office which had been held by his family at different times for centuries.

On the meeting of Parliament in 1781, a debate occurred on the King's speech, which called out strong opinions regarding the influence of the crown, and of the irregular and irresponsible system under which the government of the country was conducted. The Duke of Richmond said "the country was governed by clerks, — each minister confining himself to his own office, — and consequently, instead of responsibility, union of opinion, and concerted measures, nothing was displayed but dissension, weakness, and corruption." The "interior cabinet," he declared, had been the ruin of the country. The Marquis of Rockingham described the system of government pursued since the commencement of the reign, as a "proscriptive system, — a system of favoritism and secret influence." Mr. Fox attributed all the disasters of the American war to the influence of the crown. And well he might ; for the correspondence of the King with Lord North shows that not only did he direct that minister in all matters of foreign and domestic policy, but he instructed him as to the management of debates in Parliament, suggested what motions should be made or opposed, and how measures should be carried. "He reserved to *himself*," says May, "*all the patronage* ; he arranged the entire cast of the administration ; settled the relative places and pretensions of ministers of state, of law officers, and members of his household ; nominated and promoted the English and Scotch judges ; appointed and translated bishops, nominated deans, and dispensed other preferments in the church. He disposed of military governments, regiments and commissions, and himself ordered the marching of troops. He gave or refused honors, titles, and

pensions. All his directions were peremptory. Louis the Great himself could not have been more royal. He enjoyed the consciousness of power, and felt himself every inch a king." He had been on the throne twenty years, and they had all been years of disaster to the state, and of turbulence and discontent among the people.

He was finally compelled to submit to the retirement of Lord North, and to the formation of a Whig ministry under the Marquis of Rockingham. After passing one or two minor measures of reform, this ministry was in a few months dissolved by the death of Lord Rockingham.

Then came the brief administration of Lord Shelburne, in which William Pitt the younger, then only twenty-three years old, first took office as chancellor of the exchequer. A combination between Lord North and Mr. Fox and their friends soon overpowered this ministry, notwithstanding the support of the King. After a struggle of thirty-seven days between the King and the coalition, Lord North and his new allies were admitted to power on the 2d of April, 1783. Mr. Fox insisted that the King should not be suffered to be his own minister, to which Lord North replied: "If you mean there should not be a government by departments, I agree with you; I think it a very bad system. There should be one man, or a cabinet, to govern the whole and direct every measure. Government by departments was not brought in by me. I found it so, and had not the vigor and resolution to put an end to it. The King ought to be treated with all sort of respect and attention; *but the appearance of power* is all that the King of this country can have."

But the King had no intention of submitting to this new ministry, and notwithstanding the fact that they had a majority in the House of Commons, and even in the Lords, he determined to get rid of them, as he had gotten rid of Lord Chatham's administration. Unfortunately for them and the country, they, in the formation of their new cabinet, had

passed by the one man they should have taken. Young Mr. Pitt was undervalued, and was left out. He would not take a subordinate place. He had declined, from Shelburne, the vice-treasurership of Ireland, with a salary of \$25,000 a year, although his income at the time was but \$1500. This showed the stuff of which he was made. He almost immediately brought in a bill for reforming Parliament; he proposed to add to the House at once one hundred additional members for the counties, and several members for large cities, and to enact that every borough, of which an election committee should report that a majority of its voters appeared to be corrupt, should lose the franchise. His bill was rejected, but it had the effect of endearing him to the reformers, and to some of the best minds in England. It is probable, nay, it is almost certain, that if Mr. Fox had united with William Pitt at this time, in the formation of a ministry, and had exercised reasonable prudence in their relations with the King, there would have been the most happy results. Both were in favor of reform, and both had been brought up as Whigs. Mr. Fox was a man of the broadest humanity and the most generous nature. But he was older than Pitt, and could not bring himself to play a second part with him. As for Pitt, he was, said Lord Erskine, "hatched into a minister by the heat of his own ambition." By the intrigues of the King, a bill, proposed by the coalition ministry, for the government of India by a commission of seven, was rejected in the House of Lords. The King then demanded the resignation of Mr. Fox and his friends, and followed this by the appointment of Pitt as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Thurlow was made lord chancellor, and defended the ministry in the House of Lords. Earl Temple, the uncle of Pitt, was appointed secretary of state, but resigned because Pitt would not agree to a dissolution of Parliament. This he would not do, although he had a large majority against him, because he wanted to debate it out with the House, and allow

time for public sentiment in the country to gain strength. But opposed to him was this powerful majority, led by Fox, who was supported by Edmund Burke, Lord North, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Macaulay says: "The heart of the young minister, stout as it was, almost died within him. He could not once close his eyes on the night which followed Temple's resignation. But, whatever his internal emotions might be, his language and deportment indicated nothing but unconquerable firmness, and haughty confidence in his own powers. His contest against the House of Commons lasted from the 17th of December, 1783, to the 8th of March, 1784. In sixteen divisions the opposition triumphed. Again and again the King was requested to dismiss the ministers, but his stubbornness and Pitt's firmness never wavered." "The cry of the nation in his favor became almost furious. Addresses assuring him of support poured in; the freedom of the city of London was presented to him in a gold box. He went in state to receive it. He was feasted in Grocers' Hall. The shop-keepers in Fleet Street and the Strand illuminated in his honor." All over the kingdom his gallant struggle was earning him confidence and support. It was known he was poor, and yet he gave the clerkship of the Pells, worth \$15,000 a year, with a seat in the House of Commons, to Colonel Barré, when, as chancellor of the exchequer, he might have retained it himself. "Never was a happier stroke of policy," says Macaulay. The members of the House could not stand the pressure in his favor, and by March he had reduced the large adverse majority to one.

Parliament was then dissolved, and a new House elected. One hundred and sixty of the supporters of the coalition lost their seats. Pitt was returned by the University of Cambridge, just as he attained his twenty-fifth year. "And now," says Macaulay, "he was the greatest subject that England had seen during many generations. His father had never been so powerful, nor Walpole, nor Marlborough.

Under him was now commenced an administration that lasted seventeen years. The first eight years were those of peace and prosperity. The trade of England increased; her manufactures flourished; her treasury was full to overflowing. Foreign nations looked with wonder at the sight, and yielded due measure of respect. The King, for the first time in twenty-three years, was popular. His domestic virtues had always been acknowledged, but as a sovereign he was resentful, unforgiving, stubborn, cunning."

Previous to Pitt no minister had been able to sustain himself against the King's secret machinations or his intermeddling. While defending themselves in Parliament against open opposition, they were perpetually assailed, at the King's instigation, by a band of mercenaries who called themselves his friends. These men, while in the possession of lucrative offices, spoke and voted against bills which the King had authorized the first lord of the treasury or the secretary of state to bring in. But, from the day on which Pitt was placed at the head of affairs, there was an end of secret influence. And not until Pitt brought in a bill designed to promote the union of Ireland with England, and containing concessions to the Roman Catholics, did the King venture to intrigue against his minister. This was in 1801, when Pitt had been so long in office that the King may have grown tired of him. At any rate, it soon resulted in the resignation of the Great Minister, and although he was again in office for nearly two years, until his death on the 23d of January, 1806, he never again had an opportunity to carry the measures of reform he had once proposed. During the latter part of his administration the wars with the French Republic, and with Napoleon, distracted the attention of the public, and absorbed all the energies of the ministry. There was no chance, no hope of reform. But in 1785 he brought forward a plan for the improvement of the representative system, which Macaulay not long before his death pronounced judicious. He also prevailed upon the

King not only to refrain from talking against it, but to recommend it to the houses in a speech from the throne. This attempt failed; but, in the opinion of Macaulay, "there can be little doubt that, if the French Revolution had not produced a violent reaction of public feeling, Pitt would have performed with little difficulty, and no danger, that great work which, at a later period, Lord Grey could only accomplish by means which, for a time, loosened the very foundations of the Commonwealth." This he would have accomplished by means of his immense popularity with the public, his unbounded influence in the House of Commons, and the temperate use he made of the King's personal favor. His popularity arose largely from his uprightness and probity. It was known that he was poor, and yet he scattered riches and titles right and left among those who valued them, while he spurned them out of his own way. The story of his influence with the House is marvelous. To the last it was all the same. Whatever might be the effect of Napoleon's victories in the streets or at the clubs, "the dismay lasted only till he rose from the treasury bench, drew up his haughty head, stretched his arm with commanding gesture, and poured forth in deep and sonorous tones the lofty language of inextinguishable hope and inflexible resolution." His experience as a minister illustrates the advantages which attend the so-called English system. The cabinet have seats in Parliament. They are held responsible for their measures. If they are assailed, they can make instant reply. Indeed, the rule is for any member who proposes in any way to assail the ministry to give notice that on such a day he will make such a motion, or introduce such an inquiry, and thus the ministry are allowed the proper time for preparation to meet the case. Being on the floor, with all the debates in public, the nation looking on and watching with the utmost interest, Pitt was enabled to beat down the haughty majority with which he was confronted when he took the immensely responsible

office of prime minister of Great Britain, at the age of twenty-five.

After the death of Pitt came an almost uninterrupted succession of Tory administrations, through the rest of the reign of George III. and the reign of George IV., down to 1830, at which time the sailor king, William IV., came to the throne. During this time there was scarcely any hope for the passage of a reform measure by Parliament. The Tory administrations had filled the House of Lords with their creations of peers, and the rotten boroughs were more and more under the control of the Tory friends of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel.

Still the friends of reform were not idle. Between the years 1809 and 1830, inclusive, ten different efforts were made at full or partial reform in Parliament. In 1830 Lord John Russell proposed to enfranchise the large towns of Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, which were without representation in Parliament, and to provide that the three next places proved guilty of corruption should be disfranchised. His motion was opposed mainly on the ground that if the franchise were given to these towns the claims of other large towns could not afterwards be resisted. At the end of the session Parliament was dissolved in consequence of the death of George IV. Just as the writs were issued for the new election, news came that Charles X. of France, having attempted a *coup d'état*, had lost his crown and was an exile. Then followed the revolution in Belgium. The excitement on the Continent extended to England. It would have been well for the English ministry if they had recognized the situation and yielded something to the popular demand. Earl Grey expressed the hope that reform would not be deferred until the government might be "compelled to yield to expediency what they refused to concede upon principle." Upon this the Duke of Wellington, who was prime minister, said that not only was he not prepared to bring forward any meas-

ure of this measure, but he would believe that so far as he was concerned, as long as he held any station in the government of the country he should always feel it his duty to pass such measures when proposed by others.

On the same night Mr. Brougham gave notice of a motion on the subject of parliamentary reform. When the following day the Duke's ministry resigned after a defeat in the Commons on the appointment of a committee to enquire into the accounts of the civil list. It is believed that the motion of Mr. Brougham was the determining cause of their resignation.

Earl Grey was now made prime minister, with Mr. Brougham as Lord Chancellor. Brougham was very reluctant to take the office, as it would remove him from the Commons to the House of Lords, and would also interfere with the future of the practice of his profession. Even his venerable mother wrote urging him not to accept. Earl Grey was determined, however, not to take office unless Brougham was included, for the reason that it was deemed best to have his counsel and co-operation rather than his criticism. Lord Althorp was deputed to the work of bringing Harry Brougham to his duty, and Brougham himself states that Lord Althorp, after assenting to the logical force of Brougham's reasons for not accepting the chancellorship, said to him: "Well, I have not a word to say against your reasons and your feelings, and therefore there is an end of the matter: and you take upon yourself the responsibility of keeping our party for another twenty-five years out of power, and the loss of all the great questions which will follow, instead of their being carried." Brougham tried to defend himself and to say the ministry could be formed without him. But Althorp maintained that the contrary was the fact, and that if the Whigs did not come into power Brougham would be known as the cause. This finally settled the matter, and Brougham yielded. This was on the 18th of November, 1830, and the cabinet was at once completed. And now commenced the work of preparing a

reform bill, and also of stimulating public sentiment in favor of its passage. In preparing the bill the ministry kept their own counsel, and allowed not even intimate friends to know their plans. Lord John Russell — still living at a great age — advised a large and bold measure, and his views finally prevailed. One or two able lawyers, skilled in drawing and maturing proposed measures of legislation, were employed confidentially. It took nearly three months to prepare the bill, for all its details had to be discussed very carefully before they were decided. It was really planning, or, rather, organizing a campaign.

In the mean time, "public meetings were held, political unions established, and numerous petitions signed in favor of reform." The ministry, says May, had to encounter the reluctance of the King, the adverse interests of the borough proprietors, the opposition of two thirds of the House of Lords, and perhaps of a majority of the House of Commons. They even feared that Sir Robert Peel would be able, by his own unaided efforts, to cause the bill to be thrown out on the night of its introduction.

It was introduced by Lord Russell in the House of Commons on the 1st of March. The House was very full. When the bill was read, explained, and finally advocated, there was the greatest surprise on the part of the Tories; there was even consternation. Lord Brougham states in his memoirs that Peel missed his opportunity, and that Sir Robert Harry Inglis, a stout opponent, made the speech against it. The measure was debated continuously for seven nights; on the 22d of March its second reading was carried by a majority of one only. On the 19th of April, with its fate still undecided, the ministry found themselves in a minority of eight. On the 21st they were defeated on a question of adjournment, by a majority of twenty-two. The next day Parliament was prorogued, with a view to its dissolution and a new election.

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formers had demanded a ministry in favor of reform. But Parliament had defeated the ministry, and now the ministry, instead of resigning, resorted to the bold measure of appealing to the people. The appeal was not made in vain. A new election was held, and the new House of Commons contained a large majority of reformers, and on the 6th of July the second reading of the renewed measure was agreed to by a majority of one hundred and thirty-six. Then came a tedious and angry debate, which was ended by the passage of the bill in the Commons, on the 21st of September, by a majority of one hundred and nine.

In the House of Lords its fate was more than doubtful, for it was a measure designed to cripple the power of the lords, and they all knew it. After a debate of five nights the bill was rejected on its second reading by a majority of forty-one. The ministry were immediately supported by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. On the 20th of October Parliament was prorogued, and after a recess, during which great excitement and turbulence prevailed, it met on the 6th of December for the decisive struggle.

The bill was again introduced in the Commons, this time with some objectionable features removed, and with some valuable features added. It passed the House on the 18th of December, and was once more before the Lords. All the Tory leaders, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, and the rest, were as resolutely opposed to it as ever. It was debated four nights, with no sign of yielding on the part of the Opposition. But all through the country the agitation and excitement grew stronger and stronger. Monster meetings were held; compulsion and physical force were spoken of. An attitude of intimidation was assumed. Violence, if not revolution, seemed impending. It was ascertained that the majority in the Lords were determined to so amend the bill as to deprive it of its real value. Upon this the ministers de-

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cided to resign, — having first asked the King to overcome the adverse majority by the creation of new peers. As he refused to do this they tendered their resignations.

Their resignations were accepted, and the King tried to get a Tory ministry pledged to reform. He did not succeed, and was obliged to recall Earl Grey. Meanwhile excitement was on the increase. The King now gave a pledge in writing to Earl Grey and Lord Brougham, that unless the peers yielded the additional peers should be created; in fact, before the second reading of the bill, the King did authorize the creation of sixteen new peers; but, in order to avoid the adoption of this final expedient, he caused his private secretary to send a circular letter to the leading lords in opposition, in the following words: —

My Dear Lord, — I am honored with His Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the house to-night, from a sufficient number of peers, that in consequence of the present state of affairs they have come to the conclusion of dropping their further opposition to the reform bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

HERBERT TAYLOR.

Upon this the peers hesitated, wavered, and paused. Many of them, actuated, so it is said, by fear, by prudence, by policy, or by public spirit, refrained from voting, and the bill was accordingly passed. Although during the Tory administrations, which for sixty years had almost uninterruptedly ruled England, nearly all the new creations of peers had been on the side of the Tories, and had thus given them a great predominance, still, when it was proposed to turn the scale bodily in favor of the reform bill by the creation of peers, they were roused to consternation. They even preferred to

give way rather than have the bill carried by such a desperate measure.¹

The bill then passed and finally received the sanction of the King, and so became a law. It disfranchised entirely fifty-six boroughs, having less than two thousand inhabitants, and returning not less than one hundred and eleven members of Parliament. Thirty boroughs, having less than four thousand inhabitants, each lost a member. In all, one hundred and forty-three constituencies of the House of Commons were disfranchised. And yet, so great was the enthusiasm, that some of the men affected voted for the bill. One member, during the debate, rose and said: "I am the proprietor of Ludgershall; I am the member for Ludgershall; I am the constituency of Ludgershall, and in all three capacities I assent to the disfranchisement of Ludgershall." Twenty-two large towns then first received the privilege of returning two members each, and twenty more of returning one member. The number of county members was increased from ninety-four to one hundred and fifty-nine. The unequal franchise was also modified. All narrow rights were set aside and a £10 household franchise was established. The county constituency was enlarged by the addition of leaseholders and tenants at will paying a rent of £50 a year. By the registration of electors, the reduction of the number of days of voting, and an increase in the number of polling precincts, a reduction in the cost of elections was effected.

It will be seen that the measure was bold, comprehensive, moderate, and in accordance with the English constitution. The wonderful reform was effected by legal methods and by legitimate means.

Reforms in parliamentary representation in Scotland and Ireland followed, but they were not so thorough, and it was

¹ It has since been stated by Lord Brougham that the Whigs would not have used the authority to create new peers, after all,—fearing to lay down such a precedent.

many years before those parts of Great Britain enjoyed equal privileges in Parliament with England. In fact, the passage of the reform bill was only the precursor of additional measures, by which the English nation has gradually gotten rid of serious evils in the constitution, the result of accident, perhaps, in the first place, but at any rate the growth of centuries.

Now all these reforms were effected in spite of the opposition of the majority of the peers, with little or no assistance from the King, and against the obstinate prejudices of the most obstinate people in the world. In England custom has all the force of law. In fact, the British constitution is hardly more than a bundle of precedents, sanctioned by legal enactment. During the long reign of George III. the prerogative of the crown was increased ; the influence of the peerage also increased with its increasing number. And yet, in spite of all this, public opinion found means to make itself heard and felt, and the giant abuses were overthrown.

LEVERAGE.

Now is it not manifest that the peculiar lever which the reformers were enabled first to use against the government, and then secondly in favor of the passage of the reform measure, was the connection of the British ministry with Parliament ? The English ministers cannot escape responsibility for their measures. If their acts and declarations are meritorious, they inevitably receive credit ; if they are, on the contrary, unpopular, they are as sure to receive condemnation, and, perhaps, in extreme cases, instant dismissal. The English government is accounted the strongest in the world. It even extorts praise from the democratic statesmen of America ; and yet it is sensitive to the least changes in public sentiment. And the reason is, that the ministry propose their measures in open Parliament ; these measures are debated, as I have said before, with all the world looking on and criticising. The news-

papers and the monthly and quarterly reviews also take part in the discussion. Everything is done openly and in the light. There is no devising of measures in secret committees, with no one to know what is done with the measure then to be sprung upon and hurried through the legislature under the spur of the previous question, as is too often the case in this country.¹ The ministry, to be sure, prepare in advance the measures of legislation they desire ; but for these they are held to strict accountability, and the spectacle of the House of Commons refusing to vote the appropriations, or even of cutting down the amounts called for by the ministers, is never seen. What a contrast is this to the action of our House of Representatives last winter, and to our legislation generally !

¹ An illustration of the truth of this remark occurs as this pamphlet is passing through the press. The Committee on Commerce, of the House of Representatives, is, *under the rules*, driving the River and Harbor Bill through without debate. This bill appropriates seven million three hundred thousand dollars. Many of the items are of doubtful importance. But no debate is allowed. Mr. Cox, of New York city, in trying to get a protest on the record, was permitted to say a few words. The Associated Press reports a portion of his remarks as follows : —

“ Mr. Cox of New York disclaimed any intention to reflect on the integrity of the members of the Committee on Commerce, but he claimed the right, if possible, of reforming this bad practice of legislation. The committee was not acting in its own interest in driving this bill through under whip and spur. He proceeded to quote a precedent in support of the parliamentary privilege of protest, and said that in this case it was resorted to in the interest of the public, to stop, if possible, an insidious, almost corrupt, system of legislation. He found in the bill a proposition for the survey of rivers where there was not water enough to make a mill-race. On some of them, as had been said, a man could not find a dam by the mill-site, and could not find a mill by a dam-site. [Laughter.] Most of the rivers provided for in the bill were not worth a dam. [Laughter.] ”

